

Full Barnett

**LET THE WHOLE PARTY
MOBILIZE
FOR A VAST EFFORT
TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE
AND BUILD
TACHAI-TYPE COUNTIES
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY**

HUA KUO-FENG

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China

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— Summing-Up Report at the National
Conference on Learning from
Tachai in Agriculture

(October 15, 1975)

Hua Kuo-feng

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Publisher's Note

With the deep concern of Chairman Mao Tsetung and the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, the National Conference on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture was convened from September 15 to October 19, 1975.

This was a conference of tremendous importance after our great leader Chairman Mao issued the call in 1964: "In agriculture, learn from Tachai." There, the experience of various localities in learning from Tachai and in farm mechanization was summed up and exchanged, and the call was issued: Let the whole Party mobilize for a vast effort to develop agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. The goal was also set of basically achieving farm mechanization by 1980. This conference will exert a profound and far-reaching influence on the acceleration of the agricultural development in our country and the promotion of an even bigger growth of our national economy.

This pamphlet contains the summing-up report by Hua Kuo-feng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Party Central Committee and Vice-Premier of the State Council, at this conference.

Included also are excerpts from the speeches made respectively by Kuo Feng-lien, Secretary of the Tachai Brigade Party Branch, and Wang Chin-tzu, Deputy Secretary of the Hsiyang County Party Committee, Shansi Province.

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— Summing-Up Report at the National Conference on
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(October 15, 1975)

Hua Kuo-feng

Comrades:

Our conference has continued for a month and we have fully discussed the question of learning from Tachai in agriculture. At the same time we have studied the question of agricultural mechanization. Today I shall dwell on the following questions.

1. Militant Task of the Whole Party

China's socialist revolution and socialist construction at present are in an important historical period of development, and the nationwide mass movement **In agriculture, learn from Tachai** has

also reached a new important stage. A great militant task before us is to get the whole Party mobilized for a vast effort to develop agriculture and build Tachai-type counties throughout the country. This is an urgent task in implementing Chairman Mao's important directive on studying theory and combating and preventing revisionism and in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is also an urgent task in pushing the national economy forward so that China will be advancing in the front ranks of the world before the end of this century, as well as an urgent task in racing against the enemy for time and speed and doing a good job of getting prepared against war. The whole Party must get mobilized vigorously, attain unity in thinking and pace, unite and lead the people of the whole country to accomplish this great political task.

To build Tachai-type counties throughout the country means building every county in China into a fighting bastion which adheres to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the socialist road. In this way, the leading bodies at all levels in the country will be further revolutionized. The cadres and members of our Party and the masses of the people will greatly raise their understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Our dictatorship of the proletariat and

socialist system will be further consolidated and developed. And we shall have greater might with which to smash attacks in any form by any enemy.

To build Tachai-type counties all over the country means enabling every county in China to achieve stability and unity on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and go all out to build socialism with millions united as one. It means that every county will implement the general principle of **taking agriculture as the foundation and industry as the leading factor** in developing the national economy, undertake large-scale farmland capital construction, basically realize the mechanization of agriculture, **take grain as the key link and ensure an all-round development** so that production of grain, cotton, oil-bearing crops, pigs, all industrial crops and forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery will surpass the targets set in the National Programme for Agricultural Development and outstrip the state plans. We should see to it that the modernization of agriculture will more effectively push forward and guarantee the modernization of industry, national defence and science and technology so as to greatly strengthen the material base of our great socialist motherland for preparedness against war and natural disasters.

Take for instance Shansi Province where Hsiyang County is located. If every county in Shansi is built into a Tachai-type county attaining this year's level in Hsiyang where every person on the average has produced 750 kilogrammes of grain and supplied 250 kilogrammes of marketable grain, then the total grain output in the whole province would increase 2.5-fold and marketable grain nearly fourfold compared with 1974. Generally speaking, natural conditions in Shansi as a whole are not worse than in Hsiyang and it is quite possible for the entire province to attain Hsiyang's present level. From the example of Shansi alone, we can see how grain production will rise once Tachai-type counties are built all over the country. When agricultural mechanization is basically attained throughout the country, and the major processes in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery are 70 per cent mechanized, the use of machinery in ploughing, in irrigation and drainage and in transportation alone will more than double today's total rural labour power. This will bring about tremendous development in the economy of the people's communes and the national economy as a whole. But, if we are satisfied with the present rate of development and do not exert the utmost effort to build Tachai-type counties everywhere, we will not be able to

realize the modernization of agriculture, nor that of industry, national defence, and science and technology, by the end of the century. We must therefore be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

The building of Tachai-type counties is an urgent demand of the struggle in the present situation, and the necessary conditions for building them have been provided on a nationwide scale. As a result of the tremendous victories won in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and in the movement to criticize Lin Biao and Confucius and the destroying of the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-chi and Lin Biao, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has achieved brilliant successes on all fronts and the consciousness of the cadres and people in class struggle and the two-line struggle has risen to unprecedented heights. Since 1970, the Hsiyang experience in building itself into a Tachai-type county in three years has been popularized and the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has gathered ever greater momentum. Tachai-type communes and production brigades have emerged in great numbers, more than 300 counties in various parts of the country have excelled as advanced units in learning from Tachai, and a revolutionary torrent in-

volving vast numbers of people in learning from Tachai has taken shape in many areas and a number of provinces. In the movement to learn from Tachai, the cadres and people have mounted powerful attacks on the class enemies and capitalist forces and this has led to a tremendous rise in the socialist forces and a drastic fall in the capitalist forces. Farmland capital construction has been carried out on a large scale, and during the past four years some 100 million people have taken part in each winter-spring period, bringing an average of 1.6 million more hectares of land each year under irrigation. The rate of mechanization of agriculture has been gradually stepped up. The amount of irrigation and drainage equipment, chemical fertilizer and tractors supplied in the past four years exceeded the total supplied in the previous 15 years, and a number of production brigades, communes and counties have attained a relatively high degree of mechanization. Mass scientific experiment in farming has spread far and wide. Three provinces and two municipalities, 44 prefectures and 725 counties have topped their targets for per-hectare yield of grain set in the National Programme for Agricultural Development. Another 11 provinces and one municipality are nearing their respective targets. Thirty counties in the north have reached the

target set for areas south of the Yangtze River, six of them topping the 7.5-ton-per-hectare mark, and four counties in the south have doubled the yield set by the programme.* These facts indicate that in our country the conditions by and large are ripe for building Tachai-type counties everywhere.

At the same time, however, we must take note of the fact that the development of the movement is very uneven. A considerable number of counties still have not taken big strides in learning from Tachai, while some have yet to take their first steps. In a few rural areas class struggle remains very acute and capitalist activities are fairly serious. In these areas we must concentrate effort firmly to smash the attacks of class enemies and capitalist forces and at the same time change in the shortest time possible the backwardness in production. In fact, the masses in many of the backward areas are all the more eager to learn

*The grain yield targets set by the National Programme for Agricultural Development for different areas of the country are: 200 kilogrammes per mu (one-fiftieth of a hectare) for areas north of the Yellow River (the section inside Chinghai Province), the Chinling Mountains and the Pailung River; 250 kilogrammes per mu for areas south of the Yellow River and north of the Huai River; 400 kilogrammes per mu for areas south of the Huai River, the Chinling Mountains and the Pailung River.

To surpass the 200-kilogramme target is described as "crossing the Yellow River" and to exceed the 400-kilogramme target as "crossing the Yangtze River."

from Tachai. Some counties, for instance, have undergone fundamental changes both politically and economically in the two or three years since the masses have been fully aroused in the broad criticism of revisionism and capitalism and in going all out to build socialism. From this we can see that provided efforts are made to strengthen leadership, get on to the correct line and undertake conscientious rectification, the movement will get under way rapidly and problems will not be difficult to solve.

Learning from Tachai in agriculture and building Tachai-type counties throughout the country is a great revolutionary mass movement to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and build socialist agriculture with greater, faster, better and more economical results. Like the land reform, agricultural co-operation and people's commune movements, it is another great revolutionary movement in the rural areas. The whole Party, from the Central Committee to Party committees at provincial, prefectural and county levels, should firmly take it into their own hands, exercise centralized leadership, educate the entire Party membership to combat all such erroneous thinking and acts as attaching no importance to and making no effort in the movement, acting indifferently and passively towards it, slacking in

work or even interfering with and impeding the development of the movement, and organize all fronts and departments to make concerted efforts and strive for the victory of the movement.

2. Key Lies in County Party Committees

Tachai is a red banner designated by Chairman Mao himself; it is a typical example in adhering to the Party's basic line, continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialist agriculture. Tachai's fundamental experience lies in its adherence to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and placing Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead, to the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and to the communist style of loving the country and the collective. Tachai has consistently used Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to educate the peasants and deepen the socialist revolution in the political, economic and ideological and cultural spheres. It has consistently practised criticism and self-criticism and strengthened the revolutionization of the leading body. It has continually given full scope to the enthusiasm, wisdom and creativeness of the masses, thus ensuring the

growth of agricultural production and progress in agricultural technique year after year. To build a Tachai-type county means spreading Tachai's fundamental experience throughout the county, so that the leadership at all levels and in all departments in the county will work in the Tachai Brigade way, and the majority or vast majority of the county's communes and production brigades will be of the Tachai type. The conference considers, after discussion and study, that the criteria for a Tachai-type county at present should be: (1) The county Party committee should be a leading core which firmly adheres to the Party's line and policies and is united in struggle. (2) It should establish the dominance of the poor and lower-middle peasants as a class so as to be able to wage resolute struggles against capitalist activities and exercise effective supervision over the class enemies and remould them. (3) Cadres at the county, commune and brigade levels should, like those in Hsiyang, regularly participate in collective productive labour. (4) Rapid progress and substantial results should be achieved in farmland capital construction, mechanization of agriculture and scientific farming. (5) The collective economy should be steadily expanded, and production and income of the poor communes and brigades should reach or surpass the present level of the average

communes and brigades in the locality. (6) All-round development should be made in farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery with considerable increases in output, big contributions to the state and steady improvement in the living standards of the commune members.

The key to building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees, which are at once leading and executive organs. Only when there are staunch county Party committees is it possible to set the pace for the communes and brigades. Most of the leading bodies of our county Party committees are good or comparatively good. Only a handful have many and serious problems, or are even controlled by bad elements. Quite a few leading bodies of the county Party committees, however, are still "soft, lax and lazy." Some comrades lack awareness of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and some in fact are still at the stage of the democratic revolution in their thinking. This is extremely harmful to the deepening of the movement to learn from Tachai. In order to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country we must therefore carry out a general rectification thoroughly to solve the ideological, political and organizational problems existing in many leading bodies of the county Party committees in accordance with the

principle: **Practise Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire.** After this conference all county Party committees must conscientiously study the theory of proletarian dictatorship and the conference documents and link their study with the specific situation in their respective counties. They must size themselves up with the Tachai-type county criteria as yardstick, criticize revisionism and capitalism, criticize the outlook of the cowardly and the lazy and such wrong thinking as conceit, self-satisfaction and conservatism, expose contradictions, discover gaps and seriously carry out active ideological struggle. They must check for themselves whether they have conscientiously criticized revisionism and capitalism, whether they are truly determined to go all out in building socialism, whether the leading cadres have really gone down to the grassroots, taking the lead both in revolution and in productive labour — in a word, whether the question is solved of genuineness or sham in learning from Tachai. All these problems must be really solved, in people's minds as well as in action; just going through the motions won't do. In the coming five years the county Party committees must concentrate on rectification for a period of time every year, really solving one or two key problems each

time and so pushing the movement a big step forward. Even advanced counties should carry out rectification annually so that they will continue to make revolution and constantly improve their work.

To ensure success in the county Party committees' rectification, the stress should be on ideological rectification, with organizational adjustment where really necessary. The Party committees of provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and prefectures hold great responsibility for the county Party committees' rectification. They must make a thorough analysis and study of the county Party committees under them and work out definite plans. They must give direct help to those leading bodies with numerous problems so as to effect fundamental changes in a comparatively short time. They must actively support those good or comparatively good cadres, strictly criticize and at the same time warmly help those who have made mistakes, encouraging them to continue making revolution, promptly transfer any who cling stubbornly to bourgeois factionalism and refuse to correct their mistakes despite repeated education, and resolutely clear out bad elements who have sneaked into the revolutionary ranks. The Party committees of provinces, municipalities, autonomous regions and prefectures

must see to it that new forces are drawn in and advanced people who have been tested in practice and who have made contributions in the movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture are promoted to leading positions in the county Party committees. All provincial and prefectural Party committees must attend most closely to this work and help to carry out within one year successful rectification in the leading bodies of the county Party committees, paying special attention to putting suitable people in the first and second leading positions.

That the key in building Tachai-type counties lies in the county Party committees does not mean that the provincial and prefectural Party committees are relieved of the important or even primary responsibility they should assume. The leadership of the provincial or prefectural Party committees plays a decisive role in whether a province or prefecture has a clear idea about taking agriculture as the foundation, whether it follows a correct orientation in building Tachai-type counties, whether the measures taken are practical and effective and whether the pace of progress is fast enough. They should actively affirm work done correctly by the county Party committees and help them to sum up in good time the experience and lessons from their work. As for their

own shortcomings and mistakes in work and the harm these have done, they themselves should bear the responsibility boldly and make speedy correction and clarification. Only in this way can the movement to build Tachai-type counties develop smoothly.

3. Deepening Education in Party's Basic Line

In the historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction always remains the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Deepening education in the Party's basic line in the countryside is the fundamental guarantee for building Tachai-type counties. All provincial, prefectural and county Party committees must conscientiously grasp this work, mobilize the masses fully, constantly raise the socialist consciousness of the broad masses of peasants and make consistent efforts to ensure the victory of socialism over capitalism.

The serious problem is the education of the peasantry. The peasants are willing to take the socialist road under the leadership of the Communist Party. We must unswervingly rely on the poor and lower-middle peasants, unite with the middle peasants

and wage struggles against capitalism. With the growth of the socialist agricultural economy, the consolidation of the people's commune system and the improvement of the peasants' life, the overwhelming majority of the peasants have come to see more clearly than ever that **only socialism can save China**, and their enthusiasm for socialism has become still higher. We must be aware at the same time that in socialist society there are still classes and class struggle, and that the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between manual and mental labour still remain. **Our country at present practises a commodity system, the wage system is unequal, too, as in the eight-grade wage scale, and so forth. Under the dictatorship of the proletariat such things can only be restricted.** Therefore, new bourgeois elements will invariably be engendered continuously. This is true of the countryside as well as the cities. The traditional influence of small production still remains among the peasants, and there are still fairly serious spontaneous tendencies towards capitalism among the well-to-do middle peasants. It is a long-term task **constantly to imbue the peasant masses with the socialist ideology and to criticize the tendency towards capitalism**, and at no time should we relax our efforts in this respect.

Many cases of the tendency towards capitalism in the countryside are problems among the people. They must be solved by means of persuasion and education, and criticism and self-criticism. It is also necessary to solve those problems concerning the consolidation and development of the collective economy appropriately in line with the Party's policies. For instance, people who have gone to other localities to work individually should be called back; scattered craftsmen working on their own should be organized; private plots or wasteland reclaimed by commune members in excess of the amount allowed by Party policy should go to the collective; the wrong tendency in distribution of dividing and eating up everything, leaving no public accumulation, must be corrected. In short, constant effort must be made to consolidate and further the positions of socialism.

In criticizing capitalism, the spearhead of the struggle must be directed against the handful of class enemies who have committed sabotage. The masses must be fully aroused to expose their plot thoroughly and deal them resolute blows. These teachers by negative example should be fully used to educate the cadres and masses.

Those who are guilty of graft, theft, speculation and profiteering must be dealt with seriously in accordance with Party policy. They must make

restitution for what they have stolen, must not be allowed to sabotage the socialist economy and go unpunished.

The class struggle in society inevitably finds expression within the Party. Where there are wanton attacks by the bourgeoisie, its agents are likely to be found in the Party. Party consolidation and rectification must be linked with the class struggles in society. Conscientious rectification must be carried out in primary Party organizations and the commune and brigade leading bodies so as to make them strong fighting bastions. The experience of Hsiyang County of emphasizing ideological education must be followed and great efforts made to carry out rectification in primary Party organizations one by one. In some communes and brigades political power is in the hands of bad elements, political degenerates, those who yearn to take the capitalist road, "jolly good fellows," or people whose thinking still remains at the stage of the democratic revolution. This question must be solved discriminatingly and seriously. We must support and encourage those good or comparatively good cadres to enable them to work boldly, while helping them in actual work. Strict but enthusiastic education should be given those cadres who have made mistakes, their mistakes should not be excused and tolerated, nor should the cadres be

summarily dismissed and replaced. The ranks of the cadres at the basic levels should remain relatively stable so as to facilitate their grasping the situation, planning their work on a long-term scale and doing a good job in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Education in the Party's basic line at the grassroots levels must be unfolded under the unified leadership of the county Party committees and by relying on the commune Party committees and brigade Party branches. The provincial, prefectural and county Party committees must send large numbers of cadres to the basic levels and carry this education to success in one-third of the units at a time. As for those communes and brigades which have very grave problems, the county Party committee leadership should personally go into the primary units and mobilize the masses to "lift the lid" on class struggle and solve the question of leadership.

4. Speeding Up the Building of Large-Scale Socialist Agriculture

We must guide the cadres' and masses' socialist enthusiasm engendered in the course of vigorously

criticizing capitalism on to the great drive to develop socialist agriculture.

In building Tachai-type counties, it is necessary to undertake farmland capital construction as a great socialist task. We must carry forward the spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle, **transform China in the spirit of the Foolish Old Man who removed the mountains**, change the face of mountains and harness the rivers. This is a fundamental measure to increase our capabilities to resist natural calamities and achieve high and stable yields, and we must persistently and unremittingly carry out this work with the utmost effort. The experience of the Tachai-type counties in different parts of the country shows that where great achievements have been made in farmland capital construction, the superiority of the people's commune as an institution large in size and with a high degree of public ownership has been fully demonstrated, the old features of small production have undergone tremendous changes, and better conditions have been created for the development of mechanized farming than elsewhere. In the course of farmland capital construction, the collective concept and sense of organization and discipline of the peasants are greatly enhanced and they think more of the collective and show greater zeal in building socialism. "The more we do it, the better we like it and

the greater our courage and ability to do it well." All this helps to further consolidate and develop the victory in vigorously criticizing capitalism and developing socialism.

In order to build themselves into Tachai-type counties, all counties must map out over-all plans for their farmland capital construction. These should centre on improving the soil and building water conservancy projects, while the mountains, rivers, farmland, forests and roads should be tackled in a comprehensive way. We must see clearly the main direction of our attack and concentrate strength to fight a "war of annihilation." The projects should be carried out in stages, and check-ups and summing-up of experience should be made regularly. Attention must be paid to suiting local conditions and getting practical results, not seeking achievements in form. With large-scale farmland capital construction under way, there will be more and more inter-brigade and inter-commune projects. The brigades and communes must strengthen unified organization and leadership of these projects, practise mutual help and mutual benefit and co-ordinate their work well. Conditions must be created for the gradual spread of the county, commune and brigade farmland capital construction contingents, a new

emerging thing specialized in transforming nature and vigorously building socialism.

The equipping of agriculture with machinery is the decisive condition for a big and integrated expansion of farming, forestry and animal husbandry. In the course of building Tachai-type counties throughout the country, the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions must energetically develop their own farm machinery industry in the light of local conditions so as to supply the communes and production brigades with equipment and other products needed for the mechanization of agriculture. The prefectures and counties, for their part, must according to their own resources and other conditions set up small industrial enterprises producing iron and steel, coal, chemical fertilizer, cement and machinery in order to provide the rural areas with more farm machinery, chemical fertilizer and insecticide suited to local needs. We must publicize among the masses Chairman Mao's teaching that **the fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization**, bring the enthusiasm and initiative of the hundreds of millions of people into full play, work energetically for the technical transformation of agriculture and gradually raise the level of mechanized farming in a planned way. We must train a mighty contingent of people for mechanized farming, people who are

both workers and peasants and well acquainted with modern techniques. The development of farm mechanization will greatly raise labour productivity in agriculture and give the peasants plenty of time to develop a diversified economy and build a new, prosperous and rich socialist countryside. It will also have a great significance in bringing into play the role of the people's commune as an organization that combines industry, agriculture, commerce, education and military affairs, in enabling the commune to display its superiority — big in size and with a high degree of public ownership — and in narrowing the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between manual and mental labour. Therefore, the various departments concerned under the State Council and the leading organs of the provinces, prefectures and counties must make very great efforts to speed up the progress of this work, make various practical arrangements, take effective measures, check on its progress every year and sum up experience, so as to ensure that the great task of mechanizing agriculture will be accomplished in the main by 1980.

In order to build Tachai-type counties and achieve high and stable yields, it is necessary to

implement the **Eight-Point Charter** for agriculture* in an all-round way and go in for scientific farming. It is necessary to make big efforts to breed, propagate, spread, purify and regenerate fine seed strains; to change the old cropping system, improve cultivation techniques and raise the multiple-cropping index; and to tap various sources of fertilizer, apply fertilizer rationally and do plant protection work well. We must work hard to promote scientific research in agriculture so as to change the present situation in which research lags far behind the needs of speeding up the expansion of large-scale socialist agriculture. Each county must set up and strengthen agricultural scientific experiment organizations at the county, commune, production brigade and production team levels and weld them into a complete network, encourage the masses to carry out widespread scientific experiments, and bring into full play the function of professional scientific and technical personnel. At the central, provincial, prefectural and county levels, the agricultural scientific research organizations must be reinforced and agricultural produc-

*Summing up China's experience in increasing agricultural production, Chairman Mao has formulated the Eight-Point Charter for agriculture providing for soil improvement, rational application of fertilizer, water conservancy, improved seed strains, rational close-planting, plant protection, field management and innovation of farm implements.

tion and technical work given more guidance. Farms, forests and pastures should be run actively and well so as to play a model role.

The expansion of commune- and brigade-run enterprises strengthens the economy at the commune and brigade levels; it has given effective help to the poorer brigades and teams, accelerated farm production, supported national construction and speeded up the pace of mechanization of agriculture. It constitutes an important material guarantee for the further development of the people's commune system. Party committees in all parts of the country must adopt a positive attitude and take effective measures to help the commune- and brigade-run enterprises develop still faster and better. In developing these enterprises, the socialist orientation must be adhered to, and they must mainly serve agricultural production and the people's livelihood. Where conditions permit, they should also work for the big industries and for export. It is necessary to make the fullest possible use of local resources to develop the cultivation of crops and breeding as well as processing and mining industries. But attention must be paid not to vie with big industry for raw material and impair the resources of the state. It is necessary to strengthen leadership of the existing commune-

and brigade-run enterprises and actively help them to solve problems that arise.

The people's communes have great vitality and are promoting the development of all kinds of undertakings in the countryside. For most parts of China, the rural people's communes' present system of "three-level ownership, with the production team as the basic accounting unit" is in the main still in harmony with the growth of the productive forces in the countryside. However, we must also note that, with the spread and deepening of the movement to build Tachai-type counties, with the expansion of large-scale socialist agriculture, and especially with the growth of the economy at the commune and brigade levels, this system of ownership will make a step-by-step transition to the system of ownership that takes the production brigade or even the commune as the basic accounting unit when conditions are ripe. In the still more distant future, the people's commune will undergo the transition from the system of collective ownership to the system of ownership by the whole people and then from the socialist system of ownership by the whole people to the communist system of ownership by the whole people. Therefore, although the economy at the commune and brigade levels today is only incipient and small, **herein lies our great, radiant hope.**

5. All-Round Planning and the Strengthening of Leadership

To build Tachai-type counties throughout the country is a great march in which our Party leads millions upon millions of peasants to deepen the socialist revolution and speed up socialist construction. The Central Committee and the local Party committees at various levels should all map out all-round plans and practical arrangements and go all out to win victories, just as they did in leading the land reform and the movement for agricultural co-operation and in directing military operations.

After five years of hard struggle, that is, by 1980, more than one-third of the counties in the country are expected to have become Tachai-type counties, and more Tachai-type brigades and communes should have been built up in the other counties. There are now more than 300 advanced counties in the country which have distinguished themselves in learning from Tachai. While these counties must continue to consolidate their achievements and make further progress, an average of at least 100 more Tachai-type counties should be built annually in the next five years. This conference should distribute the number of counties to attain this aim in 1976 among the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions

respectively. The provincial, municipal and autonomous regional Party committees and the prefectural Party committees under them should all work out their own concrete plans, determine the measures to be taken and assign the tasks to the lower bodies. All county Party committees in the country should regard the work of building Tachai-type counties as their own goal of struggle and, on the basis of local conditions, draw up their own schedules and steps for accomplishing the task, work in a down-to-earth way and strive to fulfil it ahead of time. The provincial and prefectural Party committees must give the county Party committees specific guidance, make timely check-ups on their work, help them solve problems in work, hold meetings at definite intervals to appraise their work by comparing with the criteria for a Tachai-type county and determine which qualify. The provincial, municipal and autonomous regional Party committees should each year write two reports to the Central Committee on the progress of the movement of building Tachai-type counties, one report after the summer harvest and the other at the year end. These should include the plan and arrangements, progress of the movement, problems that arise, experience gained, progress in farm mechanization, increase in production, problems in the leading bodies of the

prefectural or county Party committees, work done by the provincial, municipal or autonomous regional Party committees, and how leading cadres are working at investigation and study in lower-level units. In declaring a Tachai-type county, the province must make a thorough examination before giving its approval, and then report its decision to the Party Central Committee.

The various departments under the Party Central Committee and the government should make great concerted efforts and do a good job in building Tachai-type counties. Agricultural departments must devote all their efforts to the movement to build Tachai-type counties throughout the country, do a good job in investigation and study, and give timely reports to the Central Committee and the State Council on progress and problems in the movement. All other departments including those of planning, industry and communications, finance and commerce, culture and education, science, public health and family planning should make their contributions to building Tachai-type counties throughout the country. They should work out plans and submit them to the Central Committee before the end of 1975. Each year hereafter they should make a check-up and sum up their work. The Central Committee will make an annual over-all examination of the work

of the provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions in building Tachai-type counties and assign tasks for the following year. A second national conference on learning from Tachai in agriculture is to be convened five years later to sum up experience, discuss and map out a new plan to be fulfilled during the Sixth Five-Year Plan and set further demands for building Tachai-type counties throughout the country.

Building Tachai-type counties is a great and arduous fighting task. We shall inevitably come up against many difficulties on our way of advance. But we shall certainly be able to overcome all kinds of difficulties and reach our goal so long as we earnestly carry out the political line, policies, principles and methods of work formulated by Chairman Mao and have faith in and rely on the masses. We Communists, revolutionary workers and staff members, poor and lower-middle peasants and educated youth who have settled in the countryside have high aspirations and ability to "use our own hands to transform our world through hard work, and build our still backward countryside into a flourishing land of happiness."

Unite to win still greater victories!

Appendices

PERSIST IN VIGOROUSLY CRITICIZING CAPITALISM AND BUILDING SOCIALISM

— Excerpts of Speech at the National Conference
on Learning from Tachai in Agriculture

Kuo Feng-lien*

Our Tachai Brigade has 83 households and a population of over 450. Cultivable land originally amounted to 52.9 hectares; now it amounts to 56.4 hectares, or an average of more than 0.12 hectare per person.

Tachai was liberated in 1945 and the local Party organization set up in 1947. An elementary agricultural producers' co-operative was founded in 1953 in Tachai; its advanced type in 1956. Over the last 20 years and more since agricultural co-operation, with the solicitude of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Tachai has persistently carried out the socialist revolution on the political, ideological and economic fronts, criticized revisionism and capitalism, carried out education among the brigade members so as to help overcome the influence of the force of habit of small producers, constantly strengthened the over-all dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, rather successfully aroused the

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people's enthusiasm for energetically building socialism and brought the advantages of the socialist collective economy into play. A generation of new-type, socialist minded peasants has been brought up and the socialist collective economy has expanded and grown stronger in the course of struggle.

After liberation, and especially after the founding of the co-operative, basic changes took place in Tachai. The old Tachai has become a new Tachai. People say: "Everything is new in Tachai — new people, new things, new thinking, new land, a new village and new output."

In pre-liberation days grain output in Tachai averaged less than 750 kilogrammes per hectare and the highest total annual output was only 40 tons. Last year our brigade's total grain output was 385 tons, nearly 10 times the peak pre-liberation figure. Income from forestry, animal husbandry and side-line production was 77 times that in 1955, the early period of agricultural co-operation. Our gross income last year totalled 194,800 yuan, a more than 11-fold increase over 1955.

The expansion and strengthening of the socialist collective economy has brought about three other great changes.

First, our brigade is now making an ever greater contribution to the country. From 1955 to 1958 it supplied to the state an average of 52.5 tons of marketable grain annually. This figure jumped to 122.5 tons between 1959 and 1970, then to 165 tons between 1971 and 1974. This means that every household in Tachai provided the state with an annual average of more than 2 tons of marketable grain.

Second, the collective's accumulation fund is growing with the years. In 1955, two years after founding the

co-operative, we had an accumulation of only 800 yuan, 4 per cent of the total income. Since 1973 our brigade has set aside 47,400 yuan a year as public accumulation fund. This is 60 times as much as in 1955. Growing accumulation has substantially increased our brigade's ability to expand production.

Third, the income of the brigade members has risen steadily. In 1955 the average income through distribution was 66 yuan per person. In 1974, it was 176 yuan, 2.7 times the 1955 figure. In the early days of co-operation, the pay per workday was 0.30 yuan. Since 1967 it has remained at 1.50 yuan.

Our Tachai's progress has been very rapid in the past two decades since co-operation, free of any big setbacks or sagging in its development. Every time we took a step forward we consolidated it and then took another. Why has all this been possible? Mainly because after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production, Tachai has never slackened in the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road; it has never ceased to carry forward the socialist revolution in the political, ideological and economic spheres, nor has it relaxed its efforts in exercising proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

1. Persist in Struggle Between the Socialist and Capitalist Roads

As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class

contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." Our experience of struggle in the past two decades has convinced us that this basic line of the Party is the line that ensures victory in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Adherence to this line enables us to overcome capitalism, follow the correct orientation in running socialist collective economy, bring the revolution forward and greatly develop production.

Since the completion of the land reform, Tachai has undergone a series of struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and between the socialist road and the capitalist road. The die-hard capitalist forces did not of their own accord step down from the stage of history with the establishment of the people's commune in 1958, nor have they stopped making trouble despite the growth of Tachai's socialist collective economy. On the contrary, they have become more cunning. To contend for positions, they have tried in a thousand and one ways to take advantage of every temporary difficulty encountered by the developing collective economy.

When our Hsiyang County was hit by a serious flood in 1963, the socialist collective economy was beset by temporary difficulties. Capitalist forces in society became openly active, clamouring: "Now it's livelihood that counts most. The political direction is correct so long as it brings in money!" This evil wind of capitalism blew into Tachai, too, where the two-road struggle grew fiercer. A few saw in it a chance to return to the old system, saying: "It's no use binding us all together to suffer. Let each go his own way: Those who have pro-

fessional skills can try and earn a good living. As for those who haven't, to hell with them!"

What was to be done? Surmount the difficulties through self-reliance by adhering to the socialist road and relying on the collective economy, or abolish the collective economy and return to the old way of going it alone? This question was discussed at meetings called by our Party branch for seven evenings. Comrade Chen Yung-kuei summed up 10 advantages of relying on the collective and self-reliance, and pointed out the harm of working on one's own. He said: "Difficulties are a bad thing, but they are also a good thing. Capitalist forces are taking advantage of our difficulties. But just because of this, our comrades can learn to recognize capitalism and combat it in face of difficulty." The Party branch mobilized the masses to rebuild the washed-out dams and fields, meanwhile vigorously criticizing capitalism. Such relentless criticism stimulated people to work hard, and hard work brought about great changes. We put in two years of unflagging effort, roundly criticizing capitalism and greatly developing production so that our devastated land was made into "spongy fields" — neat, strong farming terraces with a foot-deep layer of enriched, porous topsoil — which give high, stable yields despite drought or heavy rains.

In 1964, shortly after Chairman Mao issued the call "In agriculture, learn from Tachai," the evil wind stirred up by the renegade Liu Shao-chi of the so-called "experience of Taoyuan Village" found its way into Tachai. A "four clean-ups"* work team came to our brigade. Some

*Refers to the socialist education movement in China's countryside. It means cleaning up things in the fields of politics, economy, organization and ideology.

of its members tried by every possible means to discredit the course we had taken after the founding of the agricultural co-operative. The work team peddled an erroneous line, supporting capitalism and giving opportunity for evil practices and perverse trends to rise. At this crucial moment, Comrade Chen Yung-kuei called a Party branch meeting at our lime kiln. The meeting encouraged all the branch committee members and enabled them to realize what the nature of the struggle was. We made known our clear-cut attitude before the work team and also the broad masses, and waged a blow-for-blow struggle against the erroneous line. Finally, guided by the brilliant document "Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas," which our great leader Chairman Mao personally formulated, we won out in the struggle.

After the Tenth National Congress of the Chinese Communist Party convened in August 1973, the members of our Party branch committee, together with Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, studied the Congress documents and, in the light of the spirit of the Congress, summed up our experience and lessons in keeping a firm grasp on matters of first importance. We listed a number of thought-provoking things: Why did apples disappear from our trees? Why did some people cut down trees from a neighbouring brigade to make hoe handles for their own use? Why did some people bring tools from their own homes for use by the collective, while others took collective property as their own? We analysed these things from a class point of view and realized that at our Tachai, in the new situation, the capitalist tendency took the form of the private appropriation of public property and damaging public interest to profit the private. So we

launched a struggle against all this, both within the Party and outside, and among both cadres and masses. This struggle brought Party members and the poor and lower-middle peasants to understand clearly that, after all, Tachai was not peaceful, that in our brigade the struggle between the two classes and the two roads still exists and there is still the danger of capitalist restoration. If we forget this we shall suffer badly.

Our experience in the past two decades tells us that we must fight capitalism every year, every month and every day; we must fight it wherever it emerges and tear off whatever masks it puts on. It is through struggle that we have learned how to persist in the socialist direction and how to correctly carry out the policy of **"taking grain as the key link and ensuring an all-round development."** It is through struggle that we have guided the thinking of our brigade members on to the path of building large-scale socialist agriculture and opened up a bright road for its development.

2. Persist in Vigorously Building Socialism

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "The establishment of our socialist system has opened the road leading to the ideal society of the future, but to translate this ideal into reality needs hard work." Experience in struggle has led us to understand that in order to reshape hills and rivers, we must work hard; that in order to build socialism, we must be determined to face hardships and exert ourselves.

Through hard work, we have transformed the old scene. In the 10 years after the founding of the agri-

cultural co-operative, we put in altogether 110,000 work-days transforming our hills and rivers in the spirit of fearing neither hardship nor death. We built 183 stone dams across the seven gullics and 9,300 metres of earth embankments on the eight ridges of our hillside. We joined the more than 4,700 small farm plots into 2,900 larger ones. For two years after the 1963 flood, we worked hard without let-up and rebuilt every inch of the ravaged farmland. Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, we have been preparing for mechanization. We have worked strenuously winter and spring in the past four years and have flattened 33 hills of varying size and filled in 15 small gullies, moving a total of nearly 700,000 cubic metres of earth and stone. Besides, we made 1,500 still bigger farm plots out of the 2,900, and reshaped all sloping land into contour-terraced fields. Consequently a half of Tachai's farmland can now be worked by tractors.

Through hard work, we have brought most of Tachai's farmland under irrigation. While reshaping our hills and gullics we have also dug a 7-kilometre canal that skirts mountains to lead water from the Kuochuang Reservoir to our Tiger Head Hill, where we built three big water storage ponds. Irrigated land in our once drought-stricken Tachai now averages some 0.07 hectare per person.

Through hard work, we have built high-quality terraced fields. With two decades or more of immense effort, we first turned fields which lost water, fertilizer and soil into fields capable of conserving them. Then we built these into "spongy fields," part of which were later turned into small man-made "plains" that can be tractor worked and irrigated.

Through hard work, we have afforested the formerly barren, weed-infested, rocky Tiger Head Hill. It now has 26.7 hectares in saplings, and our brigade has over 40,000 fruit trees.

Through hard work, we have overcome natural disasters. The 1963 flood caused great losses to Tachai, destroying a large number of dwellings and terraced fields. But we saved most of the crop and harvested almost as much as in the previous year. Before another year was out, we had rebuilt all the terraces so that the grain yield exceeded six tons per hectare. When Tachai was hit by severe drought each year from 1972 to 1974, we raised the slogan: "The greater the drought, the harder we will fight." In 1973 we mobilized all our brigade members to carry water to the fields with shoulder-poles, wheelbarrows and basins, and we sowed the seeds hole by hole. In more than 40 days of hard work we had sowed all the 36.7 hectares to maize. Output reached 7.7 tons per hectare that year.

A new Tachai has arisen thanks to hard work. Now our new houses and cave-type dwellings total over 770 rooms, an average of 1.5 rooms per person and 2.8 times as many as before.

Comfort and ease will not change a backward situation or build socialism. For building socialism, we must criticize, we must struggle. We dare to criticize not only capitalism but also all obstacles in our way to vigorously building socialism.

First, we firmly criticize conservatism. When we began our 10-year project for transforming Tachai's hills and rivers, some of our brigade members thought that it was not worth-while investing so much money and manpower. We asked the masses to make two accounts,

one long-term and one short-term. This way everybody saw that although the new project called for quite a big investment with little immediate benefit, yet in making socialist revolution we must see 10 or even 100 years ahead instead of confining our vision to merely one or two years; we must not only think of bettering our own livelihood but also have in mind the whole country and the people of the whole world; our strength and money must go where they were most needed. It was precisely through fierce ideological tussles and education by contrast that the masses had achieved unanimity in transforming our hills and rivers.

Second, we firmly criticize the outlook of the cowardly and the lazy. There were some who cared only for a life of ease, unwilling to work hard to build socialism. The hills, gullies, ridges and slopes got them down; they were afraid of the cold in winter and the heat in summer. Our criticism of such an outlook brought home to the cadres and brigade members that socialism does not come of itself. No hard work, no change. It has nothing to do with the poor and lower-middle peasants to be afraid of hardship and fatigue, but that this is the nature of exploiters. Because we constantly criticize the outlook of the cowardly and the lazy, our cadres and brigade members are able to keep working hard in building socialism. The more we do this, the better we like it and the greater our courage and ability to do it well.

Third, we firmly criticize the idea that our efforts have reached the top. To speed up farm mechanization, our Party branch decided in 1970 to create man-made "plains" by levelling hills and filling in gullies. Some people said: "No matter how high the tree, it can't reach the sky." And we considered that our efforts for building

socialism could not reach limits, either. After the masses were aroused to criticize the idea that we had exhausted our potentialities, we started filling in our Ephedra Gully. In the following three years we filled in four gullies and built 7.3 hectares of man-made "plains."

To go all out for building socialism, cadres must take the lead in hard work. For more than two decades our brigade cadres have worked alongside the brigade members, no matter how hard the work, whether in building terraced fields, creating man-made "plains" or fighting drought and flood, whether in summer or winter.

We must not only talk hard about revolution, but also work hard for it; if we only talk about revolution, but do not work for it, we are not genuine revolutionaries. We must not only talk hard about socialism, but also work hard for it; if we only talk about socialism, but do not work for it, we are not really building socialism. This is a truth we have learned from practice over the past two decades.

3. Persist in Developing the Communist Spirit

Chairman Mao teaches us: "China ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity." Our Tachai Brigade has always taken this instruction of Chairman Mao's as its guiding thought in building socialism, and has constantly educated the masses always to have the whole country and all mankind in mind.

In handling the relationship between the state and the collective, we keep to the principle of taking into account the interests of the state, the collective and the indi-

vidual. In 1963, when our collective economy was beset with difficulties due to the flood, some people, trying to gain something, viewed these difficulties as a reason for requesting aid from the state. The question arose: Should we depend solely on the state, or should we overcome the difficulties by relying on our own collective strength? Our Party branch made this clear to the whole membership of the brigade: Since it was not only Tachai and Hsiyang County that had suffered from natural calamities, emphasis should be placed on self-reliance, not merely help from the state, in overcoming difficulties that arose in the economy of socialist collectives. Through mass discussions, cadres and brigade members reached unanimity and plunged into the struggle to build a socialist, new Tachai by relying on ourselves.

In 1972, when Hsiyang County suffered severe drought, Tachai's grain output was 13 per cent less than in the previous year. We mobilized our brigade members to save grain for the state, each saving 35 kilogrammes while still having at least 235 kilogrammes for the year's consumption. So in that very year of natural disasters depressing crop yields, our brigade supplied the state with 200 tons of grain, 25 per cent more than in the bumper harvest year of 1971.

In handling the relationship between the collective's accumulation and the distribution of income among the brigade members, we stick to the principle of constantly expanding and strengthening the socialist collective economy. Far from being merely a matter of how much should be set aside as public accumulation and how much distributed, this involves the question of whether socialist agricultural production should be unfailingly expanded, whether the socialist collective economy should

be developed and strengthened, and whether the communist spirit of cherishing the state and the collective should be carried forward. We criticize the erroneous tendency of "dividing and eating up everything," and readjust in a reasonable way the proportion of accumulation to distribution in the light of developed production and increased income. In the early years of agricultural co-operation, for instance, our output and income were low; public accumulation accounted for only 4 per cent of the total income, while the portion distributed to the individuals made up 66 per cent. With the development of production and rise of income, the proportion of accumulation to distribution changed. Take for instance the year 1973. After deductions for production investment, agricultural tax and administrative expenses for the year in question, the public accumulation rose to 24 per cent of the brigade's total income, while the amount distributed was 43 per cent.

This way of handling the relationship between accumulation and distribution never implies any decrease in personal income. It is true that, in the early years of co-operation, the portion for distribution was much bigger than accumulation. But owing to the fact that the collective's total income was not high, the sum for annual distribution was actually only a little more than 13,000 yuan, and each workday was worth only 0.30 yuan. By 1973, however, the actual amount distributed among the brigade members had risen to over 84,800 yuan, 6.5 times that during the early period of co-operation, with the pay for each workday going up to 1.50 yuan.

Because we have correctly handled the relationship between accumulation and distribution, the collective economy of Tachai Brigade has developed fairly fast and

become ever more solidly based. We have in the main mechanized all work done on the threshing ground and in the processing of farm produce, and have semi-mechanized or partly mechanized transport, field work, farmland capital construction, and irrigation and drainage. This has greatly increased labour productivity and speeded agricultural development.

In handling the relationship between the percentage distributed among the brigade members and that spent on collective welfare, we have paid attention to gradually increasing welfare services in a planned way. Practical experience over the past 20 years and more has enabled us to realize gradually that whether this relationship is correctly handled is not a matter of method, but of which direction, which road, to follow. With the constant increase in production and therefore in collective income, we have made suitable readjustments in the ratio between the amount spent on collective welfare and that distributed among the individuals. Public welfare funds of our brigade rose from 1,000 yuan in 1967 to over 4,500 yuan in 1974, a 4.5-fold increase in eight years. We know from experience that, as a collective economic unit, we must handle the question of distribution in such a manner as to arouse the masses' socialist enthusiasm and organize them to go in for building socialism in a big way. Both the larger percentage distributed as personal income in the early years of co-operation and the increased portion spent in the subsequent years on collective welfare as a result of changed conditions — both of these are intended to enhance the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and foster their communist outlook.

In handling inter-collective relationship, we consistently stand for cherishing the collective of fraternal bri-

gades as well as our own. One year we took an ox to the market town for sale. The animal looked very sturdy and attracted a crowd of prospective buyers. Some people from neighbouring brigades offered 60 yuan for it, others 70 or even 80. But we refused to sell it to them, explaining that the ox had an internal injury that made it quite useless as a draught animal, though it looked strong. Selling it at the prices they offered would be cheating. Finally we sold the animal to the state food-stuffs company for only 27 yuan.

Another year a calamity-stricken brigade sent people to Tachai to buy fodder straw, offering 0.60 yuan per kilogramme. We sold at 0.06 yuan per kilogramme, however, for that was the price set by the state. This was correct, for we were not out for money but rather for the socialist orientation and the communist way of doing things.

When Hsiyang County was hit by drought for the second year running in 1973, spring sowing became extremely difficult. By opening the sluice gate, we could have watered our own fields and done the sowing. But we chose not to open it. Instead, we organized the whole brigade to fetch water in buckets slung on shoulder-poles and went on with our sowing. Why all this trouble? Because we are building socialism, which requires that we can't set our eyes on our own production only, regardless of the difficulties of neighbouring brigades. We were willing to take hardship ourselves and leave the water for the neighbouring brigades. In this way our brigade as well as theirs got the spring sowing done in good time.

Following Chairman Mao's teaching: "The serious problem is the education of the peasantry," we have in the

past 20 years and more persevered in educating our cadres, Party members and all brigade members in communist ideology. Not only have we helped them to take a correct work attitude, but also to understand what they are working for. We have taught them to cherish the collective, and also why they should do so. We have taught them always to bear in mind not only the 450 inhabitants of Tachai, but the people in all of China and throughout the world. It is owing to this regular and penetrating communist education that communist ideology has struck root and developed in the minds of our cadres, Party members and brigade members and prompted one ordinary peasant after another to act in the communist way.

4. Constantly Enhance the Revolutionization of the Party Branch

Chairman Mao teaches us: **"If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party."** This is a truth. In a production brigade, people must fight revisionism and capitalism, transform their hills and rivers to improve farmland, and work with one heart and one mind to build socialism through struggle. So many things to be done; so many complex struggles to be waged. Who is to lead and show the way? Precisely the Party branch.

In the more than 20 years since the setting up of the agricultural co-operative our Party branch has undergone a series of tests, in times of difficulties and successes as well. No difficulty has ever stopped us from going forward, no victory has ever tempted us to slacken our advance. Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, our old Party

branch secretary, has now taken up a leading post at the central level, but we still have a number of other experienced comrades working in our Party branch. These veterans have been making revolution for scores of years, beginning from the period of democratic revolution. They have maintained the same vigour and the same revolutionary zeal as in the past, persisting in revolution and struggle. Those comrades who became leading members of our Party branch during the Cultural Revolution are likewise working energetically to make revolution, not caring about personal fame and gain nor looking for comfort. Why is this so? Because we have conscientiously studied the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the works of Chairman Mao, and constantly armed our minds with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and strengthened the revolutionization of our Party branch.

Especially since Chairman Mao gave his important instructions on the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have all the more conscientiously used this theory to raise our political consciousness and raise the revolutionization of our Party branch to a new level. In doing this, we have in the main applied the following three principles.

First, fight the corrosion of bourgeois thinking. In the past two decades and more, we have kept a firm grasp on the struggle against such corrosion. Whenever there is the slightest manifestation of it on the part of either the leading or other members of the Party branch, we wage active ideological struggle within the Party, educating them to make a definite break with bourgeois thinking and raise their political consciousness so as to maintain the spirit of the proletarian party and continue

making revolution. Tachai's poor and lower-middle peasants say: "Our Party members pay close attention to preventing the 'disease' of bourgeois ideological corrosion and promptly cure themselves of it when infected. So, few of our Party members and cadres catch it."

Second, persist in cadre participation in collective productive labour. The Party branch has laid down the rule for cadres that they must combat selfishness, seek no privileges, and take an active part in collective productive labour. For this, we formulated, through discussions, three "don'ts": (1) don't call meetings during working hours except in case of emergency; (2) don't stay in the office except for special work requiring it; (3) don't call brigade members away from work for a talk, except when really necessary. Statistics of 1974 reveal that in the eight years between 1966, when the Cultural Revolution began, and 1973, each of the present nine members of the Party branch committee put in an annual average of more than 300 days at productive labour.

Third, accept supervision by the masses. Our Tachai has over the past two decades and more achieved an excellent style. It is that cadres and Party members can only serve the people and not stand above them, that they must accept the supervision by the masses. Practical experience proves that this supervision is very important, that with it our cadres and Party members can resist corruption by bourgeois thinking, and that with it they are not liable to go astray and follow the wrong path.

Our Party branch has devoted much attention to seeking the opinions of the masses and their supervision of our work. We put it like this: "When work is not

done well, look in the Party for the reason; when the brigade members do something wrong, look in the leadership for problems."

We prefer a frank, face-to-face expression of opinions regarding the cadres, for that is the best way. Where there are more people, there is the best opportunity to ask for mass opinions. The masses are bound to speak up, if not to cadres' faces, then behind their backs; if not at meetings, then outside them. So we create conditions for the masses to speak their minds directly, to the cadres' faces, and do whatever benefits the revolution.

In short, the Party exercises leadership in everything. A brigade Party branch which leads all work must persist in the study of Marxism, persist in the struggle against bourgeois ideological corrosion, persist in cadre participation in collective productive labour, and persist in accepting supervision by the masses. Only by persisting in all these things is it possible to guarantee the purity of the Party organization and enhance the fighting strength of the Party branch. Only when there is a Party branch daring to fight and to act is it possible to win victory after victory in opposing capitalism, and go constantly forward in an all-out effort to build socialism.

In the past 20 years and more, we have, guided by the Party's basic line, achieved some results and made some progress both in revolution and production. But we know full well that Tachai is not what it might be, nor is perfection possible in every respect. There are shortcomings of this or that sort in our work, and we are still lagging behind in various respects. There is a lot of hard work and much arduous struggle ahead. The National Conference on Learning from Tachai convened

by the State Council and the important instructions given at it by the central leading comrades have furnished great inspiration and fresh impetus to our Tachai people. Moreover, delegates to the conference from all parts of China have afforded us a good chance to learn from their experience, which has in turn added to our confidence and vigour. We will certainly do our best to learn from the spirit of this conference and from advanced experience. With the inspiration and impetus of the present conference, we will undertake still more vigorous mass criticism and work harder still so as to get greater results. This is how we shall express our gratitude for the concern of Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee and the State Council, and for the support of the people throughout the country.

LEARN FROM TACHAI TO CONTINUE THE REVOLUTION, GRASP THE FUNDAMENTALS TO PERSIST IN STRUGGLE

— Excerpts of Speech at the National Conference on
Learning from Tachai in Agriculture

Wang Chin-tzu*

Our rock-strewn county of Hsiyang in the Taihang Mountains area had little arable land and, with sparse water resources, was hit by drought nine years out of ten. Before its liberation the county's grain output averaged just over 0.75 ton per hectare. Farm production steadily improved after liberation, and by 1958 the county's total grain output had once exceeded 50,000 tons. But between 1960 and 1966, when a principal leading member of the county Party committee at that time carried out Liu Shao-chi's revisionist line, output dropped by 15 per cent.

Since the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution the people of Hsiyang have been guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to criticize revisionism and capitalism and resolutely implement his instruction "**In agriculture, learn from Tachai,**" and have begun to reshape their mountains and rivers.

In the last five years more than 100 of the county's hilltops have been levelled, creating 104 small "plains."

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Today 80 per cent of the arable land conserves water, fertilizer and soil, and 4,267 hectares have been brought under irrigation. In three drought years, particularly, the area of land brought under irrigation was more than six times that in the 20 years before the Cultural Revolution.

In the movement to learn from Tachai, farm mechanization has made headway, and electricity has been supplied to more than 90 per cent of the production brigades. Since the start of the Cultural Revolution there has been a 15-fold increase in the number of farm machines, including trucks, tractors, bulldozers, machinery for irrigation and drainage, for processing farm produce and for threshing, winnowing and other threshing-ground jobs.

Nine years of learning from Tachai has resulted in steady high yields in the main. The county's total grain output was 40,000 tons in 1966. In 1969, two years after we began learning from Tachai, the figure rose sharply to 80,000 tons, doubling in three years and averaging over 3 tons per hectare. We continued to work hard after the North China Agricultural Conference in 1970, and in 1971 the figure jumped to 118,000 tons, an average of 4.8 tons per hectare, and representing a threefold increase in five years. From 1972 through 1974 Hsiyang reaped good harvests despite successive severe droughts. The total grain output for 1974 was brought up to 119,500 tons, setting a record in the county's history.

Forestry, animal husbandry and sideline production have also expanded in the past nine years, total income from these sources amounting to 11,590,000 yuan in 1974. This was 2.7 times the figure for 1966 and accounted for 32 per cent of the county's total annual income.

Following Chairman Mao's teachings "Dig tunnels deep, store grain everywhere, and never seek hegemony" and

"China ought to have made a greater contribution to humanity," the people of Hsiyang have sold increasing amounts of surplus grain to the state. Since learning from Tachai, we no longer eat any marketable grain from the state. Contrarily, in the four-year period 1967 to 1970, the annual average amount of grain supplied to the state was 15,890 tons, while that in the next four-year period, following the North China Agricultural Conference, was 26,500 tons, a 67 per cent increase over the first four-year period.

In the movement to learn from Tachai, we have paid great attention to consolidating and developing the collective economy. In the nine years of learning from Tachai the collective economy of the county's 411 production brigades has grown and that at the commune level has also developed greatly. There are now farms and factories in all communes. In the Tachai, Lichiachuang, Chengkuan, Santu and other communes, income from commune-run undertakings now accounts for 30 to 50 per cent of the gross annual income.

With the strengthening of the collective economy, the living standards of the peasants have risen greatly. Their individual income from collective distribution rose from 47.50 yuan in 1966 to 94 yuan in 1974. Bank savings of commune members in the county now total 3,360,000 yuan.

In the nine years of learning from Tachai, the land has been transformed, grain output raised, hills and waterways have been reshaped and farming conditions improved, but the fundamental change has been in people's thinking. The intense struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist and the capitalist roads and between the revolutionary and the

revisionist lines has tempered and educated the broad masses and cadres. A contingent of socialist-minded peasants of a new type is stepping forward.

In the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we have become increasingly aware that the Tachai road does not mean merely levelling hills and harnessing rivers, nor just raising grain production, but that it is one of continuing the revolution and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Learning from Tachai is learning its adherence to the principle of putting proletarian politics in command and placing Mao Tsetung Thought in the lead, its spirit of self-reliance and hard struggle and its communist style of devotion to the country and collective. It is learning to consistently uphold the Party's basic line and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

1. Persist in the Socialist Direction

The Party's basic line says, "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration." In our nine years of learning from Tachai we have always stressed the essentials, that is, to learn from Tachai's experience in seriously carrying out the Party's basic line, firmly grasping the principal contradiction of the struggle between the two classes and the two roads, sharply criticizing capitalism and enthusiastically building socialism. When these essentials were grasped, the revolution advanced, the situa-

tion changed and agricultural production went up. But when they were not grasped, capitalism spread, the revolution stagnated and agricultural production suffered.

The struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads before the Cultural Revolution taught us profound lessons, and the criticism of Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line has brought us to see more clearly that **"the question of which will win out, socialism or capitalism, is still not really settled."** The struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie following collectivization manifests itself in whether to persist in taking the socialist road or to follow the capitalist road. There have been some who have taken the capitalist road, and there will be others. Bad elements who have wormed their way into our ranks take this road; good people with insufficient political consciousness may do the same. The struggle between the two roads in this historical period of socialism is not always revealed in the same form. We must be able to recognize capitalism under the signboard of "for the collective" as well as obvious capitalism. If we know only how to struggle against obvious capitalism and not capitalism disguised as socialism, we shall suffer defeats and fail to realize socialism.

Between 1967 and 1970 we did two things: We criticized revisionism and capitalism in order to settle the question of direction and the road we should follow. We also carried out rectification in the leading groups of the basic level Party branches. By so doing we frustrated the growth of capitalism and resolved the question of leadership so that we were able to build socialism quickly. A large amount of labour power has moved up to the agricultural forefront. The scope of water con-

servancy and farmland capital construction has been steadily expanded. The look of the entire county has changed, and Hsiyang has been initially built into a Tachai-type county.

Is the task of fighting capitalism all over then? By no means. Classes, the influence of bourgeois thinking and the force of habit of small producers still exist, and so there is the struggle between the two roads. Today we criticize capitalism; tomorrow, given a suitable climate and soil, it will show itself again. In 1972 the county suffered from its most severe drought in the past 100 years. Some communes and brigades called back the peasants engaged in farmland capital construction and on water conservancy projects and sent them out to make ready-money. Some of these projects which were going full speed ahead quietly folded up. A head-on struggle between the socialist and the capitalist roads resumed once again. Led by Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, our county Party committee launched a county-wide campaign to criticize revisionism and capitalism. The force of this campaign turned back the tendency towards capitalism and the abandoned projects were got going again.

At the beginning of the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we organized over 100 people into some 20 investigation teams which went to some advanced as well as less advanced production brigades and collected a lot of information. From this we knew that the question of direction and road to take remained fundamental not only for the less advanced brigades but also for the advanced ones. The difference was that now capitalism is masquerading; it hoists the banner of "socialism" and even the banner of "learning from Tachai." We have found from our investigations that

efforts to increase collective income are not necessarily all socialist efforts. Whether or not the road taken is socialist depends first of all on the question of what the production serves, and through what channels questions of production, supply and distribution are solved. If sideline production is to be taken up under the principle of making great effort to make big profit, less effort for small profit and no effort at all for no profit, and if questions of production, supply and distribution are solved by the method of free buying and selling, then it is quite possible for the socialist collective economy to degenerate into "collective capitalist organizations." Having clarified this problem, we further studied the theory and began exposing contradictions, contrasting our situation with Tachai's and finding out how far we lagged behind Tachai, and once again we sharply exposed and criticized the capitalist tendencies in our collective economy. On the basis of increased understanding from the study, we compared with Tachai's experience and re-examined the direction for the collective economy, and began to make new strides in learning from Tachai.

Numerous facts show the main features of capitalist activity at present to be: collusion between some city people and some in the countryside; collusion between some in the Party and some outside it. It is under the Party's centralized leadership, therefore, that we have conducted our criticism of revisionism and capitalism. By fully mobilizing people in all walks of life and coordinating the city and the countryside and Party and non-Party members, we have, by concerted criticism, gradually blocked the road to capitalism.

In short, Tachai's fundamental experience in becoming a socialist new Tachai is its serious implementing of the

Party's basic line, firm grasp of the struggle between the two roads, unremitting criticism of capitalist tendencies and persistence in the socialist orientation. It is also our profound understanding of learning from Tachai and building a county of the Tachai-type.

2. Persist in the Dialectics of One Dividing into Two

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." For nine years we have been convinced that to learn from Tachai we must have a correct ideological line. Only from a correct theory of knowledge can arise a correct principle to guide practice correctly. Tachai's experience includes its persistence in the socialist orientation, opposition to capitalist tendencies, and also its application of dialectical materialism to knowing and transforming the world. In the county-wide movement to learn from Tachai, our acquaintance with this revolutionary theory and our use of it to guide our practice has enabled us to keep pace with the continuing revolution.

First, we applied the concept of one dividing into two when we met with difficulties or setbacks, finding positive elements in them so as to speed the transformation of things and turn pressure into a motive force and bad things into good things. In 1971 an excellent situation appeared in our county's movement to learn from Tachai. But in 1972 two kinds of pressure were exerted on us. One was natural; the other was man-made. During severe drought, an evil wind of opposing learning from Tachai hit us. Following Chairman Mao's teaching,

"accelerate the transformation of things and achieve the goal of revolution," our county Party committee led the cadres and people of the whole county in studying dialectics. By boldly arousing the masses and persisting in struggle, we succeeded in turning that drought year into a year of great effort in water conservancy work. As to the evil wind opposed to learning from Tachai, this bad thing was also turned to good account. It increased our awareness of the protracted and complex nature of class struggle and the arduousness of taking the Tachai road. So, instead of dragging us back, the difficulties mobilized the cadres and masses to deepen our criticism of capitalism and redouble our efforts to build socialism.

Second, we used the concept of one dividing into two when we scored successes or had good records and sorted out negative factors in these which might handicap our continued advance so as to eliminate them as soon as possible. In 1974, for example, no sooner had the situation become favourable with the spring sowing successfully completed than an air of relaxation set in. Some considered the struggle won, the difficulties over, and that there would be smooth sailing from then on. We met this by launching another county-wide criticism campaign, combining the criticism of Lin Biao and Confucius with that of idealism, and this mobilized all the cadres and masses. Practice has shown us that success is a good thing, but that it can become a motive force only when it is recognized and dealt with according to the correct ideological line. Otherwise, success may become a burden and an obstacle to progress.

Third, we criticized the one-sided view on the question of advanced production brigades and upheld the concept of one dividing into two. In our nine years of learning

from Tachai, more than 120 production brigades in the county became advanced units, the backbone and pacesetters in learning from Tachai. In the past we affirmed everything they did, lightly passing over their problems as problems in the course of advance. This year we called together cadres from these brigades, analysed intensively the problems in some of them, exposed existing contradictions and explained in what respects they still lagged behind Tachai, applying the concept of one dividing into two in viewing their progressiveness. Some brigades had become advanced units after defeating capitalism because their cadres and masses dared to expose contradictions and wage struggles. If, however, after winning the title of advanced units, these brigades no longer recognize existing contradictions and wage struggles, they may be advanced units today but backward ones tomorrow. The county Party committee viewed the advanced units in the light of one dividing into two, and the advanced units looked at themselves likewise. With the correct direction and line, cadres and masses renewed their efforts and all 120 advanced production brigades in the county made new strides forward, creating an excellent situation of the advanced becoming still more advanced.

Fourth, we also criticized the one-sided view and upheld the concept of one dividing into two on the question of the less advanced production brigades.

During the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, we called a conference to report on the theoretical study by the less advanced production brigades. Using the concept of one dividing into two to understand these brigades, we turned this conference into one for the study of theory, comparing with

Tachai, exposing contradictions and speeding the transformation of things. Contradictions were exposed, problems brought out and positive factors in the less advanced brigades listed. With problems clarified, a motive force was found, confidence was established and fighting will stimulated. All comrades in these brigades turned their grudges into courage and their despondency into revolutionary vigour. An upsurge in criticizing capitalism and working for socialism in a big way quickly unfolded in these brigades.

Tachai's two decades of practice and our county's nine years of learning from Tachai have given us the understanding that in making proletarian revolution and building socialism we must destroy selfishness, establish public spirit and criticize bourgeois thinking. We must also criticize idealism and metaphysics and learn how to use the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge to know and transform the world. Otherwise we shall not be able to build socialism and learn well from Tachai.

3. Persist in the Mass Movement

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The mass movement is necessary in all work. Things won't go without the mass movement." Our county has a total labour force of only 75,000. In the eight years from 1967 to 1974, water conservancy and farmland capital construction alone involved 90 million cubic metres of earth and stone work. Projects completed numbered 7,452, requiring 55,950,000 man-days. It was the vigorous mass movement that did it.

The first thing the mass movement taught us was that the county Party committee must be aware of the masses'

potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Comrade Chen Yung-kuei constantly reminds us: "We should not figure out on the abacus how much money we can make, but should see the masses' boundless enthusiasm for socialism." Some comrades do things in a limited way, take mincing steps and dare not lead the masses to go all out in doing things. An important reason for this is that they fail to see the factor of people, fail to see the masses' potentially inexhaustible enthusiasm for socialism. Tachai's experience tells us that in launching a mass movement we can only rely on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, on putting proletarian politics in command. Our county Party committee seriously studied and popularized Tachai's experience and mobilized the masses' enthusiasm for the vigorous building of socialism by relying on proletarian politics.

Having taken cognizance of this enthusiasm, we really came to understand what self-reliance is and how to apply it. In the seven years after the Cultural Revolution began, state allocations to Hsiyang County for water conservancy and farmland capital construction were only 13 per cent more than the total for the eleven years preceding the Cultural Revolution, yet 46 times as much work was done in the seven-year period than in the eleven years, and the area of land irrigated was 13 times the previous figure.

The second thing the mass movement has taught us is that the county Party committee must organize the socialist enthusiasm of the masses. Having discovered the masses' enthusiasm for socialism, it must be good at organizing this enthusiasm. In this respect we must carry out ideological education on the communist goal, carry forward communist-style co-operation and unity, and

also correctly adhere to the socialist principle of "to each according to his work" and exchange of equal values. In each of our nine years of learning from Tachai, we have had projects undertaken by the county, or undertaken jointly by the county and the communes, by one commune, or by a commune and its brigades. The many communes and brigades taking part in these projects have always maintained close unity and co-operation. This has been possible due to our carrying out of this principle.

Thirdly, the county Party committee must defend the masses' socialist enthusiasm, and to do this we must pay attention to three things: (1) Adopt a scientific attitude, be realistic, seek practical results and oppose formalism. When working on a project, strive to accomplish it; do not frustrate the masses' enthusiasm. (2) Correctly treat lessons of experience. If anything goes wrong, go ahead and correct it; do not make a fuss. Never dishearten the masses and disparage the mass movement. (3) Pay attention to the daily life of the masses. The greater the concern for the masses' well-being, the higher their enthusiasm will be.

Our nine-year period of learning from Tachai has also been one of vigorously carrying on mass movements. When the masses are really mobilized in building socialism, the more they do it, the better they like it and the greater their courage and ability to do it well. This fully shows: "The masses have boundless creative power. They can organize themselves and concentrate on places and branches of work where they can give full play to their energy; they can concentrate on production in breadth and depth and create more and more undertakings for their own well-being."

4. Persist in Socialist Ideology to Guide the Technical Transformation of Agriculture

With the movement to learn from Tachai developing in a deep-going way, the technical transformation of agriculture, especially the task of the gradual realization of farm mechanization, has become an ever-pressing task placed on the agenda of the county Party committee.

Chairman Mao teaches us that **"the fundamental way out for agriculture lies in mechanization."** We have linked closely the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture with farm mechanization, speeded farm mechanization by bringing in the Tachai spirit and guided it with revolutionization. To realize farm mechanization involves a great revolution replete with sharp struggle between the two roads, the two lines and the two ideologies. The struggle in our county revolves around the following questions:

The first is whether it is possible to mechanize farming in mountainous areas. As early as 1955, Chairman Mao pointed out to the whole Party that country-wide technical transformation of agriculture should be accomplished within 20-25 years, issuing the call: **"The whole Party must fight for the accomplishment of this great task."** Liu Shao-chi, however, asserted that mechanization is impossible in mountainous areas. Is it? Tachai Brigade has answered this question by action. Mechanization is not only necessary but also possible in mountainous areas, and it can be achieved in a relatively short time. Since the Cultural Revolution, especially after the North China Agricultural Conference in 1970, Tachai has made still greater progress towards farm mechanization. To adapt mountainous areas to farm mechanization Tachai has

levelled hills to fill in gullies and converted small plots into big ones and terraced fields into small "plains." It has widened mountain trails into broad roads to make way for tractors to climb Tiger Head Hill and Wolf Lair Gully. On the basis of their own experience they have co-operated with professional research workers in designing and building farm machinery suitable for local use.

By learning from Tachai's experience, our county has made great progress in farm mechanization. Since 1966 the output of tractors and other farm machines and of chemical fertilizer has increased several dozen times. About one third of the county's farmland is now ploughed by tractors. Threshing, winnowing, grain and fodder processing have been for the most part mechanized or semi-mechanized.

The second question is how to use revolutionization to guide mechanization. In developing mechanization, the struggle between the two roads and the two lines finds expression in the way to use machines and on whom to depend to handle the machines. Following Tachai's example, we still encourage arduous struggle and conscientious and hard work while using machines. We constantly criticize the erroneous tendency of neglecting farming for commercial undertakings, i.e., using farm machines for transport to seek ready-money. We firmly rely on the proletariat and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and will not allow anyone on any account to take operational and maintenance skills as private property and demand a bourgeois life on the basis of these skills.

The third question is whether or not farm mechanization is to be achieved through self-reliance. Of the brigades in our county, Tachai is the most mechanized. And Tachai has depended totally on itself in accumulat-

ing funds and purchasing machines. In our county, 83 per cent of the funds used for mechanization were raised by ourselves, the rest being covered by state investment. Our funds were obtained by appropriately increasing the public accumulation on the basis of developing agricultural production, and also by actively expanding commune-run enterprises and strengthening the collective economy of the people's communes.

The fourth question is what sort of contingent of people to train for handling the farm machinery. In these nine years we have trained a contingent of people for mechanized farming who are politically good and technically competent, with poor and lower-middle peasants as backbone. There are now more than 3,200 farm-machine operators, operators of internal combustion engines, electricians, tractor drivers and other operating and maintenance workers. These people are at the same time workers and peasants. They are socialist-minded peasants with culture and technical skill. We are aware that farm mechanization has not only transformed nature and raised labour productivity, but also transformed society and people. It has freed people from the narrow-mindedness of small producers and helped them to see the bright prospects of narrowing the gaps between town and country and between worker and peasant.

While grasping farm mechanization we have paid attention to applying and popularizing agricultural scientific achievements. A network of agricultural scientific and technical centres has been set up involving more than 3,500 researchers at county, commune and production brigade levels. The whole county has learned from Tachai in scientific farming, carrying out in an all-round way the "Eight-Point Charter" for agriculture with emphasis

for each period. In the past few years we have stressed soil improvement with definite results. This year great effort has been made to popularize improved seed strains, reform planting and use fertilizer scientifically, and we have also obtained fairly good results.

In our nine years of learning from Tachai we are taught that carrying out all-round technical transformation of agriculture is a deep-going revolution. Provided we follow Tachai's experience in adhering to the Party's basic line and the general line for socialist construction, relying on our own effort and carrying on mass movements, we will win still greater victory in the technical transformation of agriculture.

5. Persist in Revolutionizing the County Party Committee

Our great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party." Our experience in the nine years of learning from Tachai convinces us that if we want to make revolution, we must build a county Party committee like the Tachai Brigade Party branch, which adheres to the socialist road and persists in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In the nine years of learning from Tachai, our county Party committee has been united and energetic. At important junctures of the class struggle our leading body could reach unanimity of will, march in step and stand firm on the frontlines.

Revolutionizing the county Party committee was not smooth sailing, and it could never have been achieved

without struggle in our Party committee. In the past nine years we have mainly grasped "three fights" and "two persistences" in doing it.

The first fight is the fight against revisionist influence within the county Party committee. This is a decisive measure to block the road to capitalism in a county, and also a question of primary importance in revolutionizing a county Party committee. Learning from Tachai does not mean the leading body just issuing orders without itself getting involved. In judging whether socialist revolution and construction are done well or not in a county, we must first see if the county Party committee leads the way to socialism or gives "the green light" to capitalism. To resolve the problems in society we must first solve those within the Party, within the county Party committee.

Our practice in learning from Tachai confirms: **"Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society."** And revisionist influence within the Party committee leading body unavoidably aids and abets capitalism in society. This enables us to understand better the experience of the Tachai Brigade Party branch: Class struggle in society is inevitably reflected within the Party, and problems within the Party must be first resolved within the leading body. This has been very important in stepping up the revolutionizing of our county Party committee.

The second fight is that against erosion by bourgeois ideology. We can see that the danger still exists even under the powerful proletarian dictatorship of our political power being openly overthrown by the class enemy and that there is a still greater danger of socialism being

turned into capitalism and the dictatorship of the proletariat into the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through the corruption of our cadres by the bourgeoisie.

Acting on the opinion of Comrade Chen Yung-kuei, we pointed out clearly: Opposing and preventing revisionism requires that we begin by opposing corrosion by bourgeois ideology and by opposing it consciously in small things. After the Tenth National Congress of the Communist Party of China we immediately followed the Tachai Brigade Party branch in launching a struggle against the private appropriation of public property and damaging public interests to profit the private. In 1974 our county Party committee convened an enlarged meeting for open-door rectification which was attended also by the secretaries of the people's commune Party committees, the secretaries of the Party branches of departments directly under the county and representatives of the masses. The masses bluntly assailed unhealthy tendencies among members of our county Party committee standing committee. On the one hand we mobilized the people for the attack. On the other, we waged face-to-face struggle at the meetings of the standing committee, revealing selfish ideas, condemning what was bad and reasoning problems out. This round of struggle prepared the way ideologically, politically and organizationally for the new upsurge in 1975.

The third fight is that against the influence of the habits of small producers within the Party. This fight is imperative for ensuring successful advance of the movement to learn from Tachai and is, moreover, a question of principle for guaranteeing ideological purity in the Party. Conservative thinking within our county Party committee was severely criticized in 1970. This fight has

also been grasped in our rectification in the past three years. This year the conservative thinking of some comrades became an obstacle in our learning from Tachai's experience in scientific farming. We focused our criticism on this thinking within the county Party committee, which greatly benefited some of our comrades.

Revolutionizing the county Party committee depends mainly on open-door rectification, i.e., arousing the masses to help it in this task. Only with the supervision and help of the broad masses and cadres at basic levels can the county Party committee be revolutionized quickly and well.

What do we mean by the "two persistences"?

First, to persist in reading and study. In recent years our county Party committee has grasped this "persistence," which we take as vital to revolutionization.

In the course of theoretical study, we have firmly rejected mechanical reading and the reciting of phrases as well as aloofness from practice. Emphasis is laid on combining theoretical study with the practical struggle in the county and with the remoulding of our own thinking. It is precisely because attention is paid to organizing the committee members' reading and study that we are able to acquire a relatively better understanding of certain social phenomena and struggle in the light of Marxist theory and become more conscientious in grasping the principal contradiction of class struggle and our own revolutionization.

Second, to persist in the system of cadres participating in collective productive labour. Comrade Chen Yung-kuei has said that a leading cadre must always bear in mind Chairman Mao's teachings that cadres must not estrange themselves from the masses. To work by sitting in an

office, talking on the telephone, and hearing or demanding reports only turns upside down the proper relation between government departments and basic working units. We regard the cadres' participation in collective labour as an important factor in the revolutionization of our county Party committee and this question has been dealt with at each rectification. Cadres at county level are therefore, in the main, able to fulfil the requirement of at least a hundred days at physical labour every year. In the movement to study theory this year we examined the members of our county Party committee in this respect. We decided to improve the work style of our committee further by having all committee members serve as ordinary commune members at the grassroots for one month every year, besides taking part in collective labour with other government and Party cadres, or doing so in lower-level units they select to work in to gain experience.

In short, without revolutionizing the county Party committee there cannot be any sustained movement to learn from Tachai. The revolutionization of the county Party committee must find expression in persisting in the struggle between the two lines and the two ideologies within the Party, in reliance on the masses and acceptance of their supervision and in participation in collective labour.

I have said much, mainly about our achievements and experience. But we still have many problems and shortcomings. Compared with Tachai Brigade and the many other advanced counties in the country, we find ourselves still far behind. In the theoretical study movement we have stimulated a new upsurge in learning from Tachai and drawn up a programme for the next five years. We will not be unworthy of the concern shown by Chairman

Mao and the Party Central Committee, and of the support and help of the people throughout the country. Encouraged and motivated by this conference, we are determined to learn still better from Tachai and score new successes.

全党动员，大办农业，
为普及大寨县而奋斗

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